1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[132] [249] will turn the cane fields into quagmires from which it is impossible to move the laden ox-carts.[29]

The table above (Table III) indicates that the September rainfall is highly variable both on the coast and in the interior, although Cruz das Almas has a slightly more consistent pattern for this month. The variability of September precipitation, as will be seen, raises serious agricultural problems in the Recôncavo. However, the greater [249] variability of the coastal zone is in some ways a less serious problem than the lesser variability of the interior, for cane harvests can be temporarily postponed, but the cutting and drying of tobacco has an extremely critical time factor.[30]

Climate - Summary. The climate of the Recôncavo is dichotomous. The temperature of the region is fairly constant from day to day and from season to season. In contrast, precipitation is unevenly distributed--in area and in season--and is relatively unreliable. The cultivator of the Recôncavo may take the temperature for granted, but rainfall is an almost incessant concern.

Along the margins of the ocean and the Bay the climate is humid and the precipitation relatively reliable--it is a rare season when the crops of this zone suffer from drought. Because of the heavy investment [249] [257] in industrial equipment and labor, a long delay in harvest is costly to the sugar industry.

In general the uplands have marginal precipitation. Beyond the [241] Recôncavo, in the sertão (backland) crop cultivation is scattered and precarious, chiefly on account of the low and uncertain rainfall. Although the uplands of the Recôncavo have more total precipitation than [241] the sertão, they share in the pattern of uncertain rains. Several areas in these uplands are intensively cultivated, and the recurring severe

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

BB 175 178 249 251 433

The world-wide expansion of sugar cane production, the development of the sugar beet, and the improvement of sugar technology had changed sugar from an expensive luxury to a relatively cheap semi-necessity. The sugar industry of the Recôncavo always had been based upon the production of small quantities of a high-value product. Only with great reluctance and considerable difficulty could it convert itself to cheap mass production.

B 175 178 433 439

The Brazilian industry as a whole was unable to compete effectively in the international mass market. Brazilian exports in the early twentieth century dropped to one-half, even one-third of the nineteenth century level. At the London Conference in 1937, Brazil could claim as her quota only 1.6 per cent of the total international sugar trade.

B BB 175 43 249 251

The Brazilian industry maintained itself behind a tariff wall. The more efficient and strategically located sugar areas of Campos (Rio de Janeiro) and São Paulo had access to growing local markets in the expanding Central-South. But Bahia had no sizable local market, and distance limited its access to the main Brazilian markets. Moreover, it was an inefficient, high-cost producer. Under these circumstances it could not compete in a free-market situation.

B 175 257 178

For the sugar industry as a whole the difficulties of adjustment to the almost complete loss of foreign markets were increased by the necessity for sweeping technological reorganization.[40] Until

B [249]

the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Brazil's entire sugar production was manufactured in small and primitive engenhos which used the open pan method and produced dark, low-quality sugar. The development of the steam engine, vacuum pans, centrifuges, and filters had made possible a mill both larger and more efficient. Under the name of engenho central (central mill), the new industrial complex

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
East Brazil SN1
Northeast Brazil SO1
Brazil SL1

B 175 257 178 BB [178]

was introduced in Brazil after 1870.[41] As might be expected, the more progressive Central-South led in the modernization of the industry. The Northeast, and especially Bahia, lagged behind--further evidence of Bahia's resistance to change.

BB 175 249 257 471 178

The technological revolution had two historical stages: (1) engenhos centrais, and (2) usinas,[42] both of which still are clearly identifyable in Bahia (as is their predecessor, the engenho stage). In the engenho central stage the mills purchased cane from fornecedores (suppliers). These suppliers were old engenho properties which no longer operated a mill. The resistance of the fornecedores to a strict scheduling of delivery and price soon caused dissatisfaction among the mill owners. They began to buy out the fornecedores and go into direct production of cane.[43] The source of cane is the basic distinction between the engenho central system and the usina system. Once the central mill grew most of its own cane, it became an usina and entered the second phase of the technological revolution. The sugar industry in the present-day Recôncavo is characterized by both systems. In practice the systems employed by the various sugar mills tend to include features characteristic of both types, and there is no stereotype. The existing systems in Bahia are distinct from those of the Central-South, where the usinas have largely replaced the engenhos centrais.

EB 249 [257]

NB BB 175 178 249 257 471

In the twentieth century, as in the nineteenth, the Recôncavo persisted in its monoculture and was reluctant to accept technological innovations in agriculture and industry. This conservatism was typical of most of the Northeast, but in Pernambuco the industry began simultaneously to intensify its monoculture and to modernize its industrial plant, and this state ultimately became the largest sugar producing state of Brazil.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
East Brazil SN1
Northeast Brazil SO1
Brazil SL1

EB NB 175 249 257 B 175 654 249 257 B [647]

In the first quarter of the twentieth century this competition of the more efficient and centrally located sugar industry of the Central-South threatened to bankrupt the Northeast.[44] Because the nation feared that a collapse of the sugar economy in the Northeast would destroy the social and economic base of these states, steps were taken to stabilize the industry. In 1933 the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool (Institute of Sugar and Alcohol) was created as a semi-autonomous branch of the federal government. Its purpose was to stabilize prices, maintain an equilibrium of production through quotas, and to control foreign sale of sugar. The effect of this program has been to subsidize the less efficient industry of the Northeast at the expense of the industry of the Central-South.

NB EB 178 249 257 43

During World War II temporary disruption of the national production quota system allowed the Central-South to expand, an advance which it continued to maintain after the war. This expansion limited the markets available to the sugar industry of the Northeast.

BB 178 249 257 433 B [433]

In Bahia the relative decline in sugar production, begun in the 1860's, continued steadily except for a break during and following World War I. In 1952 the mills of Bahia produced only 60,279 tons of (white) sugar of a total Brazilian production of 1,785,017 tons.[45]

BB 175 178 249 43

While the sugar industry of the Recôncavo was losing markets in the initial half of the twentieth century, the tobacco industry was able to maintain and in some cases even to expand its markets. Although the maximum level of export of Brazilian tobacco was reached in 1902 (50,000 tons), the decline thereafter was only moderate, and the export was stabilized, except for World War II, at about 30,000 tons, 80 per cent of which was from Bahia. In 1865 the first cigarette factory in Bahia had been founded.[46] Small

BB 175 277

249 311 and Intermediate Hills between and around these zones, but usually on an exceedingly small scale.

249 311 433 The yields calculated for 1948 were as follows:

Santo Amaro	65.7	tons	per	hectare
São Francisco	80.0	"	"	"
São Sebastião	41.2	"	"	"
Cachoeira	37.0	"	"	"
São Filipe	50.0	"	"	"

These may be compared with 38.7 tons per hectare for Brazil as a whole, 35.0 tons per hectare for Cuba, and 89.3 tons per hectare for Java and Madura for the same year. The relatively low yields of Cachoeira and 249 433 134 257 São Filipe are to be explained, at least in part, by the primitive character of cultivation and processing in these more remote areas. São Sebastião is a sort of frontier zone into which the big sugar mills are expanding their operations at the expense of smaller operators, but the methods of production are still less efficient than in the main production area, and the soils are sandier and less fertile. In Santo Amaro, yields are higher on account of generally better soils and techniques, but the demands of the large usinas require intensive and continuous cultivation on even the poorer soils. On the other hand, the less intensive cultivation in São Francisco, where the mills are smaller, allows a freer selection of soils, so that the yields of this area are the highest in the Recôncavo.

244 311 Sweet Potatoes and Peanuts. Two other American domesticates are grown in the Recôncavo, though on a small scale--peanuts and sweet potatoes. Both are cultivated primarily along the forest and scrub forest transition as auxiliary subsistence crops, in conjunction with manioc and tobacco. There are also scattered plots of these crops in most other parts of the Recôncavo. Neither crop occupied over 1 per cent of the total crop land of the region.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 (4) The field is burned for the last time, and as new cane or grass appears, it is used as pasture.

(5) After one year of pasture, sometimes more, the field is replanted to cane.

[529] The length of the harvest varies. It begins with a festa (festival) in the first week of September and continues as long as there is cane and as long as the heavy rains hold off--usually about six months.

249 311 Within the sugar cane area most of the land is in cane or in temporary fallow pasture except: (1) very wet bottom lands; (2) steep slopes; (3) villages; and (4) the lands and yards occupied by the mills. The general aspect of this area is that of an unbroken sea of cane. Single fields are often large--a square kilometer is not uncommon--but they are divided into separate plots. The cultivation of other crops within the sugar cane area is very limited. Small house gardens for the laborers are common, but other commercial agricultural forms of land use are rare.

249 423 257 184 Land holdings, as will be seen, generally are large under this system. The orientation of the sugar industry in São Filipe is somewhat different than in the zone discussed above. Properties are smaller, the monocultural aspect less dominant, and the whole sugar economy more primitive. There were eighty-two small sugar mills in this area in 1940, compared to the eight large usinas of Santo Amaro. [273] Many of these produced crude sugar (rapadura) rather than the refined sugar or cane brandy (cachaça) which are the main products of the zone north of the Bay.

245 The Cultivation of Coconuts. The final important agricultural system of the Recôncavo is the coconut monoculture, a less highly organized permanent culture than the sugar cane system.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

244 433 [438] 10,000-ton surplus. The surplus manioc of these municípios would appear to be marketed to the manioc-deficit areas of the Recôncavo, particularly [249] the sugar cane area and Salvador. It is significant that those municípios which were the leading producers of tobacco were also the leading producers of commercial manioc (Map 123). Although the exchange and processing of tobacco in these areas is well organized and receives some attention from government bureaus, the growing and processing of manioc remains an unrecognized enterprise.

249 244 433 The importance of the production of tobacco and of commercial manioc to the various municípios of the Southwestern Recôncavo is shown in the following summary:

Município	Per cent of Total Value of Production	
	Tobacco	Manioc
Cruz das Almas	65	23
Conceição do Almeida	57	38
São Filipe	25	32
Muritiba	17	14
São Félix	54	-

One of the advantages of the relative balance of these two products is that in the event of a crop failure of one, the area would still have a salable commercial product. Moreover, since the production of manioc is relatively large, a moderate decrease in its yield would still leave this area with at least a minimum supply of food for its large agricultural population.

249 257 433 [654] Sugar cane is now the third crop in value in the Recôncavo, but it is maintained in that position only by government subsidy. It is a crop which either dominates the region in which it is produced or its cultivation is economically unimportant (Map 124). In part this is the result of the technological requirements of the sugar industry, which demand that large quantities of sugar cane be produced close to the mill so that the cane can be delivered quickly once it is cut. However,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 354]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249
257 the large landholders and agricultural capitalists of Brazil have a
433 strong historical bias toward monocultural systems.

249 As would be expected, the Central Recôncavo accounted for almost
433 90 per cent of the total value of sugar cane in the region. Sugar pro-
471 duction in this area is dominated by the big usinas, and most of the cane is produced on very large properties, as has been seen.

243 Although corn and beans primarily are subsistence crops, they
244 have, like manioc, some commercial importance (Map 125). The corn and bean
433 areas within the Recôncavo do not produce outstanding surpluses, although
438 these two crops are important commercial products in nearby Serrinha and Conceição do Coite. Most of the corn and beans of the Recôncavo are exchanged for farinha de mandioca, which provides the cultivator with a cheaper food.

244 The remaining crops of the region are of minor commercial impor-
245 tance, or are more valuable commercial crops of highly localized pro-
433 duction. Bananas, peanuts, and sweet potatoes are minor commercial
438 crops of diffuse production, since most of their cultivation is for subsistence purposes. Oranges, cocomut, coffee, and pineapple are important but secondary commercial products whose production is concentrated in a few restricted areas (see, for example, Map 126 of coconut production).

249 The importance of the principal commercial crops--tobacco, sugar
244 cane, coffee, cocomut, oranges, pineapple, a few minor crops, and
245 commercial manioc--varies widely from município to município (Map 127).
433 However, two areas--the Central Recôncavo and the Southwestern Recôncavo--
438 had highly commercial economies in which over 90 per cent of the total value of production was in commercial crops. In the tobacco-manioc area north of the Rio Paraguaçu, only one-half to three-quarters of
000 the total value of production was in commercial crops. Except in the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 358]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brasilians SO11

505 [226] abuse by the sea and by man. While some of these boats are used for fishing in the Bay and in the ocean, their most important function undoubtedly is bringing food from the areas around the Bay to the city of Salvador. On the return trip, they carry building materials, manufactured articles, and passengers. The usinas of the coastal [249] [257] sections of the sugar cane area use these vessels to transport cane to the mill and to deliver the products of the mill to Salvador. Several of the cities on the Bay are very much dependent upon this means of transport, especially São Francisco and Maragogipe, which for all practical purposes have no road connections.

Motor boats serve to connect Salvador and the island of Itaparica. All of the tidewater cidades of the Bay and, in addition, São Roque do Paraguaçu and Nazaré are connected with the city of Salvador by scheduled motor vessels which carry many passengers and small quantities of freight. These vessels ascend and descend the estuaries with the tide. The head of navigation on the Rio Paraguaçu is Cachoeira, and on the Rio Sergi is at a landing on the outskirts of Santo Amaro.

489 241 433 These various transport media provide for the movement of people and goods across the Recôncavo. They are generally able to meet the immediate demands of the agricultural economy without excessive delays. The available media of transport are used to the fullest extent; busses, trains, and motor vessels are always crowded, and the trucks are always busy. However, the poor roads, the archaic railroads, the taxes on the movement of goods, and the high cost of vehicles clearly set a limit to the expansion or the intensification of the agricultural system. The rationalization of agriculture in the Recôncavo would require considerable expansion and improvement of the system of transportation.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

APPENDIX C

THE BOMFIM FESTIVAL

796 Certain popular festivals, like the Sabado and Segunda
565 Feira do Bomfim, are largely taken over and even dominated
[439] by the lower classes. Individuals from the upper circles, both white and colored, attend only in their automobiles, driving slowly back and forth along the principal streets and through the crowds, or watch the festivities from the windows and doorways of near-by houses. In the words of a local citizen, the festival of Bomfim "springs from the people themselves, who regard O Senhor do Bomfim as their patron saint. It belongs to them more than Carnival does; Carnival is more refined (*mais elevado*), more under the control of the educated, 'cultured' Bahians."

796 Preceded by exclusively religious ceremonies, the celebration begins on the third Saturday in January and continues through the following Sunday and Monday. A large part of the population attends. Formerly, it is said, all business houses closed for the festival, and a few still do, while others take only a half-holiday on Monday. The celebration opens
[368] at the Church of Bomfim, which crowns a gently sloping hill
[443] on the peninsula of Itapagipe which juts out into Todos
[265] os Santos Bay to the north of the port. Black women in *bahiana* costume sit around the edges of the crowd selling
[257] such wares as *cocada*,[1] cakes, and other confections, mangoes, peanuts, *umbús*, and *cajús*.[2] In the *adro*, or open space, in

[1] *Cocada* is a confection made of coconut and sugar.

[2] *Cajús* are the fruit of the cashew tree. *Umbús* are a green, smooth-skinned fruit, about the size of a small lime.